

Message Text

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CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS/SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (ROGERS, WILLIAM) (SCHAUFEELE, WILLIAM)

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA

1. PRESIDENT KAUNDA CALLED US BACK TO THE PALACE LATE THIS EVENING. WE HAD ASKED HIM, HE SAID WHETHER SWAPO WOULD BE WILLING TO GO TO GENEVA ON THE TERMS WE HAD LAID OUT EARLIER IN THE DAY. HE HAD DISCUSSED OUR PROPOSAL WITH THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP. THEY WERE AGREEABLE TO MANY OF THE POINTS BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS: THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES AND PRESENCE OF THE UN AT THE TALKS. KAUNDA SAID HE WANTED TO TAKE BEST ADVANTAGE OF OUR PRESENCE AND THOUGHT WE SHOULD MEET WITH THEM TO EXCHANGE VIEWS DIRECTLY. HE THEREFORE ASKED THAT WE MEET WITH PRESIDENT NUJOMA AND OTHER SWAPO LEADERS WHO JUST HAPPENED TO BE IN THE NEXT ROOM IMMEDIATELY. HE ASSURED US THAT MEETING WOULD BE IN STRICT CONFIDENCE. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES AND GIVEN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH KAUNDA IN THIS ENTERPRISE, WE DID NOT FEEL WE COULD REFUSE.

2. NUJOMA SAID THAT SWAPO WOULD BE READY TO TALK, ANY TIME

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AND ANY PLACE, BUT THERE WERE SEVERAL PROBLEMS HE WANTED

TO STRESS. FIRST, THE SAG SHOULD RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, WHETHER IN SOUTH AFRICA OR NAMIBIA, SEVERAL OF WHOM SWAPO WOULD WANT TO JOIN ITS DELEGATION IN GENEVA. SECOND, SOUTH AFRICA WAS IN NAMIBIA ILLEGALLY AND SHOULD REMOVE ITS REPRESSIVE MILITARY FORCES, WHICH IT IS ACTUALLY REINFORCING, IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE AND COOPERATION. THIRDLY, HE THOUGHT THAT THE UN SHOULD BE PRESENT AT THE GENEVA TALKS, AND THAT THE TALKS SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS BEING UNDER ITS AEGIS. FOURTH, IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE TRIBAL GROUPS WOULD TAKE PART ONLY ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE.

3. AS TO THE FIRST, WE SAID ONLY THAT WE WOULD BRING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRISONER ISSUE TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SAG. AS TO THE OTHERS, WE SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST COULD BE THE ENEMY OF THE GOOD. WE STRESSED THAT SAG HAD NOT YET AGREED TO ANYTHING AND PERSUADING IT TO ACCEPT THE POINTS WE HAD MADE TO KAUNDA EARLIER IN THE DAY WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. PRISONERS, THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UN AND THE PRECISE STRUCTURE OF THE TALKS COULD AWAIT THE TALKS THEMSELVES. WE HAD, WE SUGGESTED, A MOMENTARY OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE ANOTHER STEP FORWARD TOWARD THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE NOW FAIRLY COMMITTED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT NAMIBIA SHOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT UNITARY STATE. THE TALKS SHOULD BE AIMED AT DETERMINING HOW AND WHEN THAT SHOULD OCCUR. SWAPO SHOULD REACH OUT FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SUCH TALKS. THE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS OF PRISONERS, UN RELATIONSHIP AND THE SHAPE OF THE TABLE MIGHT APPROPRIATELY BE ON THE AGENDA OF THE TALKS, BUT SHOULD NOT BE A PRECONDITION TO THEM.

4. THE OTHER SWAPO LEADERSHIP JOINED IN TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHED TO THE MODALITIES OF THE TALKS BUT IN THE END URGED US TO PRESS ON. THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS IMMEDIATELY. BUT IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT IF THE SAG IS PREPARED TO OPEN TALKS IN GENEVA WITH SWAPO PARTICIPATION, AND IF WE CAN SAY THAT WE HAVE RAISED THE PRISONER ISSUE AND BROUGHT THE OTHER CONCERNS OF THE SWAPO TO THE SAG'S ATTENTION, SWAPO WILL COME. OUR JUDGMENT WILL BE BETTER IN THIS RESPECT, OF COURSE, AFTER WE HAVE SEEN

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NYERERE.

5. FOLLOWING THESE DISCUSSIONS, WE ASKED TO SEE PRESIDENT KAUNDA PRIVATELY. WE THANKED HIM FOR THE QUICK RESPONSE HE HAD PROVIDED US ON OUR NAMIBIAN INITIATIVE. WHAT ABOUT RHODESIA? COULD WE ADVISE THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT IT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S JUDGMENT THAT THE SECRETARY SHOULD PRESS FORWARD ALONG THE LINES WE HAD SET FORTH DURING THE MORNING

SESSION. KAUNDA SAID THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO POLL THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALIST LEADERS YET. THE SWAPO PEOPLE HAPPENED TO BE IN LUSAKA SINCE KAUNDA IS OPENING THE NAMIBIA INSTITUTE TOMORROW. NOT SO THE ZIMBABWE PERSONALITIES, WHO ARE SOMEWHAT MORE DISPERSED (AND, HE CAUTIONED, CONSIDERABLY LESS DISCREET, AND MORE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO COMMUNICATE WITH OR INFLUENCE.) NEVERTHELESS, HE THOUGHT WE SHOULD INDEED GO AHEAD. HE WOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO TEST THEIR SENTIMENT QUICKLY AND GET BACK TO US. HE RECALLED HIS UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE IN ATTEMPTING TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH VORSTER. HE HAD MADE AN ALL OUT EFFORT. IT HAD FAILED. SO THE RESORT TO ARMS. BUT, IN THIS EFFORT, QUOTE WE GIVE YOU ALL OUR BLESSINGS WHILE WE FIGHT. UNQUOTE. AND, QUOTE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE, WHEN WE THINK THERE IS A SINCERE APPROACH BEING MADE, THOUGH ONCE BITTEN, TWICE SHY. UNQUOTE.

6. WE SAID THAT HIS FURTHER THOUGHTS COULD BE SENT TO US THROUGH LOW. WE ADDED THAT WE WERE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH, KNEW ABOUT ROWLANDS VISIT THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW AND THAT, THOUGH WE HAD CLOSELY COORDINATED WITH OUR UK FRIENDS ON RHODESIA, IT WAS AGREED THAT US WAS IN THE LEAD ON THIS ISSUE.

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